

## A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF ERDOĞAN'S REPUBLIC DAY SPEECH IN 2016

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### Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between argumentation and political discourse. More specifically, this study focuses on the discursive and argumentative strategies employed by one of the most prominent Turkish leaders and current ruling president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The aim is to shed light on linguistic elements that fuel the sense of national identity after the coup attempt of 2016 through employing the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) for unveiling the use of specific argumentative strategies in the translated version of Erdogan's 2016 Republic Day speech. English's growing presence in politics highly influences translation practices (House 2013). Not all politicians are proficient in English, thus, their speeches undergo translation from their native language. These translated speeches are intended for a global audience, which underscores the pivotal role of English analysis in both political discourse and the field of translation studies. Although the original language of the speech is Turkish, the examination of its English translation serves to highlight the significance of analysing translated political speeches and making these analyses accessible to a wider audience. The findings emphasise the importance of argumentative topics (topoi), such as the topos of History, Definition, Comparison, Threat and Favorable Time in the advocacy of national sentiment at various linguistic and structural levels within the translated political speech of Erdoğan. The implications of this research extend to the understanding of the intricate interplay between argumentative language and concepts of national sentiment within political discourse. Future research can further explore the application of DHA in the analysis of political discourse, allowing for deeper insights into the communicative strategies employed by political leaders.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Approach, topoi, argumentation, translation, political discourse

### 1. Introduction

The year 2016 was very important in the sociocultural changes in Turkey, because it was the year when (1) the terror attacks swept across the country, and (2) the first coup against a current ruling government happened in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Butler 2018). These events influenced the society, culture, legislative, and educational system of Turkey. Politicians often rely on background knowledge and use discourse to maintain their positions and power to promote their political ideologies that can trigger not only local but also global changes (Vadai 2017). With the coup attempt of 2016, Turkey experienced two historic shifts, the failed coup attempt itself to make Erdoğan leave and a political Islamist counter-revolution that defended the government. Following the night of 15 July, 2016, the ideology of political Islam spread in Turkey to an extent never witnessed before (Çağaptay 2020).

The analysis of political speeches requires knowledge not only of the historical and cultural but also of the relevant social factors. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates political discourse to critique and reveal the connection between discourse, ideology, power, persuasion and manipulation (Fairclough 2015). CDA is not a research model because it does not incorporate a complete methodological framework, it is a theoretical and methodological approach within

discourse analysis which aims to identify or investigate the intersections of power, ideology and discourse (Brown 2019). However, there are theory-based analytical frameworks, such as the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA; Wodak et al. 1990), which may be used for the critical analysis of discourse. The DHA includes a deductive approach, in which the argumentative topics have already been identified, described and defined (Given 2008).

The previously mentioned theoretical framework is suitable for the analysis of concepts that are related to power and ideologies within discourse because it connects different levels of communication through lexical, topical, semantic and pragmatic analysis by investigating the micro-level strategies in communication (discourse and language use) and the macro-level features (e.g., power, dominance, and inequality; van Dijk 2015). In order to reveal the features resulting from the interplay between these two levels of discourse, the political speech of one of the most influential politicians in Turkish history, namely Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the current president of Turkey, has been chosen as the corpus of this study.

Although languages are a unique reflection of the culture they belong to, the peculiarity of each culture and its associated language of expression cannot be precisely translated to other cultures (Munday–Hatim 2004), transferences of meaning are possible from one language to another (Ricoeur 1995). The polysemic inner nature of language, whose combinations of words, syntax, morphology, generate several layers of meaning, may be the reason why we feel that something is lost in translation. However, thanks to the translation, the rich complexity of the layers that make up communication codes can be realised, and the perception of a restricted and single cultural identity can be abandoned (Ricoeur 1995). From a CDA perspective, translation is seen as a mediation process between the worldviews of the source and target texts, and if social structures and contexts are also taken into consideration in the translations, the translator's subjectivity does not necessarily lead to the projection of bias into the data because the ideological worldviews have to be reflected similarly in the target text as in the source text (Baker–Saldanha 2009).

There are political institutions, bodies, and organisations where the primary language used is English, such as the European Union. However, since their first language might not be English, and they must convey their messages to politicians from various socio-cultural, historical, and political backgrounds, English started to enter non-English native politics, becoming a global language (Phillipson 1992). The rapid spread of English into politics has also had an impact on translation (House 2013). Since not all politicians speak English, their speeches are translated from their native language to English. However, the translations must be presented to an international audience, thus, analysing their speeches in English plays an important role not only in politics but also in translation studies. Although the original language of the speech is Turkish, to raise awareness of the importance of analysing translated political speeches and to make the analysis available to a larger audience, the English translation of the chosen speech will be analysed. The study employs a descriptive approach from translation studies, which focuses on observable facts in existing translations, advocating that the text should be investigated in the context of the receiving culture rather than in relation to their sources (Zanettin 2002).

The following study investigates Erdoğan's 2016 translated Republic Day speech regarding the construction of national identity through argumentative topics after the coup attempt of 2016. More specifically, this study seeks to delve into the argumentative strategies employed by Erdoğan in his 2016 Republic Day speech. Examining the argumentative strategies in which national identity is shaped and communicated is essential for understanding the socio-political dynamics within a nation. Argumentative topics, in other words *topoi* (recurrent themes, arguments, or motifs) are used for the construction of persuasive discourse (Žagar 2009). In the context of this research, the analysis of *topoi* will shed light on the key topics and arguments employed by Erdoğan to construct and reinforce the Turkish national identity in a specific political context. The study attempts to find answers to the following research questions: (i) What are the argumentative topics of the translated 2016 Republic Day speech? (ii) How can the argumentative schemes of the chosen corpus of the analysis reflect the framing of Turkish national identity? (iii) What are the lexical means of realisations for the framing of Turkish national identity?

In order to answer these questions, the chosen speech will be analysed through the investigation of lexical items that can be interpreted as argumentative topics within the Discourse-Historical Approach. Only the most frequent argumentative topics will be analysed.

## 2. The historical and social context of Turkey

After the Ottoman Empire started to fall apart, the Turkish War of Independence broke out (1919–1923) when a military officer called Mustafa Kemal discovered the backwardness of the Empire. He not only started to disobey orders but met with other people to fight against the division of Turkey among the Great Powers, called Eastern Question, in 1923 and to declare independence (Fromkin 2009). Atatürk assembled a national congress, abolished the Sultanate and Caliphate, and proclaimed the Republic in 1923. Atatürk introduced new laws and led various legislative reforms in government, education, and language that still live on even today. The Latin alphabet replaced the Ottoman one. Under Atatürk's rule, religion was separated from the state; this form of governing is called secularism (Çağaptay 2020). The Proclamation of the Republic by Atatürk is commemorated and celebrated on October 28 and 29 in Turkey each year.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were six coups (Ahmad 2014) in Turkey, and only one in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, on 15 July 2016. After the 15 July coup attempt of the army against the rule of Erdoğan, streets, squares, and schools were renamed, coins commemorating the victory over the attempt were struck as well as other retaliatory measures, such as arrests took place (Balci & Yavuz, 2018); thus, it resulted in socio-political and cultural changes that affected the modern Republic of Turkey. Coup d'état is an overthrow of state and a takeover of power by a group (Bealey & Johnson, 1999), which in this case was Erdoğan's government. Erdoğan's government is non-secular because he follows the tradition of political Islam, which blends religion with politics and at the same time deviates from Atatürk's secular type of ruling and agenda (Çağaptay 2020). Erdoğan's and Atatürk's political agendas and ideas might differ; however, the celebration and national event of Republic Day is about the commemoration of Atatürk's historical deeds and ideas. This paper is interested in the use of the ideology of national identity and argumentative strategies in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech (the period after the coup attempt). It sets out to investigate how Erdoğan used arguments to unite people after they had tried to overthrow his government.

## 3. Literature review

The goal of this section is to delve deeper into the connection between language, discourse, political discourse, argumentation and topoi. It also aims to emphasise the importance of the use of translated corpora and textual data. In order to provide a clear distinction to the readers concerning conceptual and terminological differences, nation, national identity, and nationalism will also be elaborated on and thoroughly described.

### 3.1. Language and discourse

Language reveals the unique, special and individual characteristics of people and their community (Amberg–Vause 2009). In other words, beliefs and values are presented, expressed, and manifested in verbal and non-verbal language because they serve to project and transmit information, mediate cultural values, and construct and sustain sociocultural structures. Language is also a tool for asserting viewpoints, power, ideologies, and emotional states through which the user can develop and control knowledge and impact social relations (Luke 2003). This mechanism can be experienced in political discourse, where the choice of vocabulary items and grammatical patterns determines the achievement of influence on people.

Discourses are created in written, spoken, or multimodal forms of communication, where we use language (which is the product) as our common mediator. Discourse analysis investigates language use in context (in other words, how language is used in different environments, which is also

dealt with in pragmatics) (McCarthy et al. 2010). The analysis of discourse questions the (1) relationship between the speakers, (2) the goals of the communication, and (3) the management of topics and the (4) development of the interaction (McCarthy–Walsh 2003).

Discourse is implicit, when the intended meaning is implied in the utterance, or explicit, when the intention is directly expressed in it. In order to better understand any discourse, the hearer or reader can rely on their schematic knowledge because human memory is made up of complex structures (called schemata) that include all the information we know about a certain phenomenon or event (Zhang 2010). This embedded device (schemata), which is a form of familiar knowledge (Widdowson 2007), can vary among people or even among countries. When choosing a type of discourse, politicians build on the schematic knowledge of their hearers or readers, referring to their sociocultural or historical background by using grammatical structures and vocabulary. Through the analysis of political discourse, we get a chance to understand the reasons and intentions behind the politicians' choices regarding grammatical structures and vocabulary.

### **3.2. Argumentation and political discourse**

Argumentation is a certain type of linguistic reasoning that conveys, supports, refutes, or even debunks claims. Its aim is to achieve communicative goals, one of which is to persuade the audience (Voloshchuk–Usyk 2018). There are implicit and explicit aspects of argumentation that can be revealed, where the argument can be identified as part of a message (Hample 1980). It is of crucial importance for political speeches to be carefully constructed regarding what kind of topics and argumentation to include since they are generally concerned with the promotion of political views (Martínez Guillem 2009). Also, the speakers' awareness of the terms and their associations are in connection with their assumptions about the audience's background knowledge (Martínez Guillem 2009). The context where political speeches are produced is also of high influence. Political arguments are generally held in public spheres where the choices in argumentative discourse and topics are audience-directed and include the purposive use of linguistic devices (Koço 2012). Understanding the essence and elements of argumentation are key to effective communication and critical thinking. In this way the audience can identify, reveal and interpret intentions of persuasion or even manipulation. Concepts such as the nation-state and national identity are often included as a frame of reference in political discourse through the incorporation of histories, sense of collectivity, as well as sense of destiny (Billig 2003). The crucial task while analysing a political text or speech is to understand its argumentative essence, which is essential for the evaluation of the political strategies they are a part of (Fairclough–Fairclough 2012). According to Vadai (2017), political discourse is an abstract and complex phenomenon that can be analysed in numerous ways as well as from various points of views. For this reason, political discourse requires the reconstruction and analysis of arguments as bases for non-arbitrary evaluation, where the intention is to give a clear focus to the argument (Fairclough–Fairclough 2012).

### **3.3. Argumentative topics, topoi**

Topos or topoi denote a point of view or an idea in the argumentation process. They are recurrent arguments, or motifs that are strategically employed in discourse to construct persuasive arguments (Richardson 2004). By employing topoi, the speakers or writers can establish a common ground and appeal to the hearers'/readers' preexisting knowledge and emotions. These shared references and assumptions enable the communicator to create and establish credibility, enhance the chances for persuasiveness, and shape the audience's perception regarding the topic or issue at hand (Rubinelli 2009). Through the use of topoi, political leaders, or people in high or elite positions as well as other influential figures can shape the discourse, knowledge and perception regarding national identity, in order to promote a sense of shared identity and belonging. Topoi can take various forms and address different aspects, such as historical references, highlight unique qualities or achievements or traditions (Wodak et al. 2009). In political speeches, argumentative

discourse requires an understanding of the socio-cultural context, the values and beliefs of the target audience, and the strategic deployment of topoi to effectively shape and influence public discourse (Wodak et al. 2009). The selection and manipulation of topoi are essential tools in constructing a compelling and persuasive narrative of national identity, fostering a sense of unity, pride, and loyalty among the members of a nation. The analysis of topoi can provide valuable insights into the argumentative construction and representation of ideologies and contexts.

### 3.4. Nation, national identity, nationalism

Although the terms nation, nationality, national culture/identity, and nationalism are closely connected and share some ideological basis, they are not the same. Nation, in broad terms, denotes a "human population sharing a historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith 1991:14). According to Renan (1990), a congregation of like-minded people create the sense of nation. However, people are not only legal citizens of the nation; they also participate in national ideas that are represented by their national culture (Hall 1996).

As Wodak et al. (2009) argue, the nation is an imagined community because it is a mental construct, an imaginary complex of ideas containing at least the defining elements of collective unity and equality, boundaries and autonomy. However, this image is real to the extent that one is convinced of it, believes in it and identifies with it emotionally. The question of how this imaginary community reaches the minds of those who are convinced of it is easy to answer: it is constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture. National identity is thus the product of discourse. (22)

This sense of belonging is what constructs national identity, which can serve as a basis for nationalism. Members of a nation are reminded of their national identities by using national flags, symbols and banknotes as well as through national media that projects national values (Arslaner 2022). Thanks to these symbols of national identity, the concept of 'us' is evoked; a concept that involves a group that shares national values, sentiment and uniqueness, in other words, the in-group (Arslaner, 2022). Thus, commemorative national celebrations and holidays (such as the commemoration of the Republic Day of Turkey) are essential in the unification of people based on their shared history and national sentiment.

Nationalism, on the other hand, is an ideology that represents a political philosophy using national identity where people share devotion, respect, and closeness to a nation (Heywood 2011). If nationalism is combined with discourses of prioritisation and marginalisation, it can lead to severe consequences (Konuralp 2013), it may become a contemporary, progressive, or aggressive movement and lead to coup attempts (Köktürk 2016), where there is an *us vs. them* mentality (Wodak et al. 2009), a clash between the superior and inferior arising from differences regarding customs, culture, and language.

### 3.5. Corpus-based translation studies and political Speeches

Since the corpus of investigation in the present study is based on translated texts, the potential impact of translations needs to be addressed. In order to investigate patterns of grammar, vocabulary, or contextual features of any type of text, the compilation of data is of great importance due to the fact that it provides means of quantifiable data, such as type and token ratio or frequency counts, for the researcher. If we take political discourse as an example, the compilation of political speeches and texts could prove to be helpful in the identification of ideologies because the ideas of political agendas need to be embedded in discourse in a repetitive manner.

Translated texts record "genuine communicative events and as such are neither inferior nor superior to other communicative events in any language" (Baker 1993:234). Analysing translation with the help of a compiled corpus of translated texts of the same genre (e.g., commemorative speech or political declaration), enables us to identify features of translated text (Baker 1993).

Corpus and corpora, in corpus linguistics, denote a body or compilation of naturally occurring language, in other words, an organised database that is adequate for computer-assisted analysis (McEnery–Hardie 2012). However, in translation studies, corpus and corpora can refer to a more modest, smaller amount of textual data that can be searched manually (Baker 1993). Even though the analysis of corpus in corpus linguistics usually entails quantitative methods, qualitative corpus analysis can also be of assistance for translation studies because it provides means for pursuing in-depth investigations of linguistic phenomena regarding communicative situations (Hasko 2012).

A monolingual corpus includes linguistic data in one language only (Baker 1995) and can assist analysts to investigate the linguistic nature and elements of the target, translated text, independently of the source language (Zanettin 1998). It is also ideal for investigating the features of certain text types (Mohammed 2022). A corpus incorporates text evidence, and through a different methodological framework of analysis, it also provides insights into the specific text (Bonelli 2010). A specialised translated monolingual corpus can provide insights into specific patterns, terminology, the frequency of conceptually relevant words, as well as cohesive features (Bausela 2016).

The translated text should use terminology that, while maintaining the clarity of the source language, also elicits the associations that the political discourse's intended audience hoped to perceive (Sagadiyeva et al., 2021) since political speech is a purposeful, cohesive stream of words that is typically prepared for delivery to an audience on a political event (Charteris-Black, 2014). Even though there might be differences in terms of lexical items in translated political speeches, the overall political ideology needs to match the political ideology of the source text. The analysis of translated political discourse is not only important on the vocabulary and stylistics level but also in terms of the transfer of strategies in the target language (Pamungkas 2020) because these strategies can contribute to the maintenance of social power as well as to the reproduction of ideology (Bánhegyi 2014). The way in which translated political texts are applied for political goals has complex psychological and textual implications which should be investigated through methods of CDA (Bánhegyi 2014).

#### 4. Analytical Tools, Procedures

The DHA includes the following methodology, which aligns with the present study's qualitative focus.

- Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge (i.e., recollection, reading and discussion of previous research).
- Systematic collection of data and context information (depending on the research question, various discourses and discursive events, social fields as well as actors, semiotic media, genres and texts are focused on).
- Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.).
- Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions (on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data).
- Qualitative pilot analysis (allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions).
- Formulation of critique (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique).

(Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 96)

In order to investigate the topoi structure of the English translation of Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day Speech, the text of the speech was divided into sentences. In each sentence, the topoi defined by Wodak (2006) and Wodak et al. (2009) were identified and investigated (see further information in the Discourse-Historical Approach section).

#### 4.1. The text selected for analysis

The aim of CDA is to analyse the implicit and explicit relationships within a text by linguistic analysis (Fairclough–Fairclough 2012). For this reason, the chosen corpus for the study has to have the potential to indicate both the use of power and ideological language use, since political speeches may contain various deliberately used elements of power, ideology, and manipulation (Vadai 2017). This study focuses on finding elements or instances of ideological use of language in connection with national identity. It investigates the argumentative schemes and means of linguistic representation of national identity in the translated 2016 Republic Day speech of Erdoğan. As a result of the 15 July coup, socio-political and cultural changes took place that affect the modern Republic of Turkey. There was an attempt to overthrow Erdoğan's government. This study investigates the use of discursive strategies concerning national identity in the translated speech of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. His translated 2016 Republic Day speech has been chosen for the analysis because it is a commemorative event of the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, in the year of the coup attempt. The official English translations of Erdoğan's speeches are available on the website of the Turkish Government, which was used as a source for accessing his speeches for the analysis. The translations are the official translations provided by the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey.

#### 4.2. The Discourse-Historical Approach

The DHA aims to gather all available background information on a systematic basis for the analysis as well as interpretation of the text (Wodak 2011). It enables the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis regarding the implicit and explicit discursive strategies of the performer. The main focus of the DHA is based on the following discursive strategies:

- Referential nomination: Discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events, and processes/actions (Reisigl–Wodak 2009)
- Predication: Discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena/ events/processes, and actions (more or less positively or negatively) (Reisigl–Wodak 2009)
- Perspectivization: Positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance (Reisigl–Wodak 2009)
- Argumentation: cognitive construct of problem-solving that is represented (even regulated) in sequence(s) of speech acts constitute a complex (and more or less coherent) network of statements (Wodak 2015b)
- Intensification: modifying the intention of utterances (Reisigl 2017).

Argumentation involves the use of argumentative topics (*topoi*). There have been extensions of the DHA approach (Wodak 2001, 2006 ; Wodak 2009; Wodak et al., 2009; Wodak 2015) over the time and different types of *topoi* (*topos* of justice in 2006, *topos* of burden and *topos* of favourable time in 2009) for different political speeches were identified. However, not every identified *topos* includes a definition. For this reason, only those *topoi* were included in the analysis that had been previously defined. In cases where *topoi* were defined more than once, the definitions were merged. Such was the case with the *topos* of history, which was defined in the study of Wodak (2006) and redefined by Wodak et al. (2009) to achieve a more thorough and broader type of analysis. The definitions of the *topoi* to be investigated are listed below.

The argumentative *topoi* and their definitions/means of realisations based on the analytical framework of Wodak (2006: 74) and Wodak et al. (2009: 36-42):

- *Topos* of History: as a teacher: because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation,
- *Topos* of Threat: if specific dangers or threats are identified, one should do something about them,

- Topos of Definition: a person or thing designated X should carry the qualities/traits/attributes consistent with the meaning of X.
- Topos of definition: temporal reference, indicating continuity
- Topos of Comparison: lexical units with semantic components creating difference or similarity, lexical units with levelling semantic components (justification), referential assimilation, personal pronoun *we*, spatial and personal reference (constructive), lexemes with components creating unification (constructive)
- Topos of Favourable Time: a crisis is also a chance

## 5. Results and discussion

Let us further investigate the above-mentioned political speech extended with a thorough interpretation, focusing on the frequency and occurrence of specific, already defined topoi. The analysis of Erdoğan's speech (see Tables 1, 2 and the Appendix section) is followed by a detailed interpretation of the topoi and devices.

Argumentative topics (topoi)	Number of occurrences
History	9
Authority	1
Threat	6
Definition	8
Comparison	8
Superordinate aim	3
Idyllic place	5
Changed circumstances	3
Consequence	5
Favourable time	7

**Table 1.** The frequency of identified topoi in Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech

Since topoi are recurrent arguments, the study will investigate the most frequently identified and used topoi in the chosen corpus of the study. For space limitations, only the most frequent five topoi will be investigated. The five most frequently used topoi of the speech are presented in Table 2.

Argumentative topics (topoi)	Number of occurrences
History	9
Definition	8
Comparison	8
Threat	6
Favourable time	7

**Table 2.** The most frequent topoi in Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech

### 5. The combination of topoi of threat, history, definition, comparison and favourable time

The combination of topoi, such as the topoi of comparison, the topoi of history, the topoi of definition, the topoi of threat, and the topoi of favorable time, can be of high influence and effectiveness in the construction and shaping of national identity because of the various functions they address and entail. The topoi of comparison enables members of the nation to compare their nation with other ones, through which their sense of belonging can be enhanced because of the highlighting of unique qualities. The topoi of comparison is helpful in the reinforcement of the notion



that the Turkish nation possesses distinctive attributes, unique achievements and exceptional values that separate it from others.

The topos of history provides connection for the Turkish nation to its past through an emphasis on long-standing traditions and historical milestones. Through references to the topos of history, national identity is further strengthened by the shared historical experience and continuity of the historical roots. The topos of definition sets the time of continuity of the historical events and clarifies the principles and values that are connected to the referred events. The topos of definition extends the topos of history through temporal connections. The topos of threat further extends the topos of comparison by highlighting the resilience and strength of Turkish people. Through an emphasis on the endurance and capability of the nation to overcome difficulties and triumph against the external threats and enemies, the sense of national pride is enhanced.

The topos of favourable time reflects progress and achievement because it highlights the growth and the positive transformations of the Turkish nation. The emphasis of the topos of favourable time in Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech is on the accomplishment and improvement of the Turkish nation that fuels Turkish national pride. Through the combination of the previously mentioned topoi a multi-dimensional narrative of a nation's identity is constructed because it enables Turks to develop a deep sense of connection, pride, and loyalty to their nation through reflecting on and understanding its distinctiveness, historical context, values, resilience, and progress. Before the extensive and thorough analysis of the excerpts (below), the previously mentioned topoi, namely the topos of threat, history, definition, comparison and favourable time will be further elaborated.

**5.1.** The topos of history (or history as a teacher) is one of the argumentation schemes (a synonym for topoi according to Wodak et al. (2009)) which aims to call attention to the importance of history-related events and consequences to achieve a deeper emphasis and higher effect on the reader/listener. The inclusion of and reference to historical events and deeds serve as reminders (Aslaner 2022) of the readers'/listeners' national identity and belonging. The attributive elements that are used with the historical inclusions and references serve as either a booster or setback of national sentiment. The depiction of the victorious or tragic events of history is likely to evoke emotions to encourage people to experience feelings of pride or resentment regarding the referred historical event. This sense of pride or resentment can further contribute to unification. The pride will singularise people and construct a certain type of in-group, where all the people proud of their history can be united. The resentment will also unite people against a common enemy, the out-group. The topos of history is further divided into two groups, the Republic of Turkey and the coup attempt of 2016, for this reason, illustrative examples referring to the former or latter topos of history will be included in the excerpts. The next topos is the topos of definition.

**5.2.** The construction of national identity is a dynamic process that relies on various argumentative schemes and devices (see below). The topos of definition with a temporal reference, allows the establishment of a nation's identity through the inclusion of temporal continuity and progression (Wodak et al., 2009; Schwarze, 2007). Politicians and leaders influence perceptions of the nation's past, present, and future through the topos of definition by emphasising key moments and events that reflect past, present and unification. In this interpretative analysis, we delve into the construction of national identity through the topos of definition with a temporal reference. By examining specific excerpts and their argumentative schemes, we can gain insights into how the topos of definition with a temporal reference shapes and reinforces national identity.

**5.3.** The topos of comparison shapes and defines a nation's identity by drawing comparisons between their own nation and others. Politicians and leaders can separate their country through features, successes, and values. This argumentative scheme serves to deepen a sense of national identity through the differentiating the in-group, the members of the nation, and the out-group, members outside the nation to either foster national pride, or promote unification through a common enemy (van Dijk 2006). In this analysis, we will explore the construction of national identity

through the topos of comparison, examining how the references to attributive features and abilities of people, historical events, and cultural aspects help to shape perceptions of national identity. The topos of comparison will be investigated on the basis of Excerpts 11-15 below.

**5.4.** The topos of threat is crucial for the shaping and construction of national identity, since it is a powerful tool for unifying as well as mobilizing communities against a common enemy (van Dijk 2006; Wodak et al. 2009). Through highlighting external or internal challenges, differences and threats, the topos of threat constructs a narrative that emphasises the nation's ability and capacity to overcome obstacles. It also creates a sense of unity or even pride in collective accomplishments. The topos of threat with regards to the construction of national identity in the 2016 Republic Day speech of Erdoğan will also be investigated below.

**5.5.** The topos of favourable time is applied in order to indicate and emphasise the positive values and attributes of a particular period over another (Ricoeur 1992). This argumentative topic is of crucial importance for politicians because through employing the topos of favourable time, they can emphasise the invaluable period of their ruling. The topos of favorable time, particularly the notion that crisis is also a chance, is employed below to highlight the positive outcomes and progress that have resulted from challenging events. The perfect time for unification is during the time of crisis, be it in the past or in the present.

#### **5.6. The interpretation of topoi in the Erdoğan's 2016 translated Republic Day Speech**

For reasons of limitations of space for the study, only the most illustrious excerpts that include more than one topos will be analysed. The parts that indicate the topos or topoi of the chosen part of the speech will be highlighted in bold for making them more visible and easier to detect for the reader.

##### **Excerpt 1**

*"The Turkish nation, which has never given in to bondages and dictations, crowned the **war of liberation** that it launched against the **invaders** targeting its liberation and future with a **heroic victory unprecedented in history**"*

The example above incorporates instances of using the the topos of history to remind people of the Turkish War of Independence (1918–1923), after which the Republic of Turkey was born. The reference to history with the expressions *heroic victory* and *unprecedented* are means of creating a sense of pride in Turkish people about their past events. In the above example both in- and out-groups are created, where the in-group is the Turkish nation, and the out-group is the 'invaders'. Not only the topos of history but the topos of comparison is also invoked by the emphasis of the unique nature of the in-group, the 'The Turkish nation' because it has never accepted and will never accept the threat and command of others, which is referenced through the line *which has never given in to bondages and dictations*. The aforementioned excerpt establishes a comparison by the emphasis of resilience and refusal of the Turkish nation to submit, thus it positions Turkey to a higher level. The part *Crowned the war of liberation* is a metaphorical expression where crowning denotes victory over the 'invaders' to signal accomplishment or recognition. The victory is further compared and emphasised, where *unprecedented* indicates comparison to emphasise the extraordinary nature of the victory. It is suggested that the Turkish nation's triumph is unique. In addition, a third topos also appears, the topos of threat, which highlights the resilience and bravery of the Turkish nation against external challenges and forces that attempt to impose control or dominance. The *war of liberation* signifies the threat to the nation's freedom and future because Turks need to be freed from the enemy. The reference to the Turkish War of Liberation is meant to emphasise that the threat can be overcome, but people need to be reminded that there was an external threat in the

past. Through the topos of threat the courage and determination of the Turkish nation are pointed out. This argumentative topic is applied for the enhancement of the national identity and the evoking of pride, unity, and collective strength among the Turkish people.

### Excerpt 2

*"After this glorious victory, on **29 October 1923**, we established the Republic of Turkey on the principle of **"sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation"** and with the aim of raising our **nation above the level of contemporary civilizations**"*

The topos of history is further emphasised in Excerpt 2 through the specific inclusion of the exact date, 29 October 1923, of the War of Liberation, a time pivotal in Turkish history, also marking the establishment of the Republic. Also, the emphasis on the principle that *sovereignty belongs to the nation* aims to unify the people. There is a certain desire for advancement in the global arena. It reflects the desire to shape Turkey's place in history and among contemporary civilisations.

The topos of definition is also present in various temporal references. The part *After this glorious victory* indicates the sequential relationship of the Turkish War of Liberation and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey to indicate that the Republic of Turkey is itself a victory. The expression *29 October 1923* is a precise temporal reference to the start of the Republic of Turkey. In addition, the passage highlights the significance of the date and the principles guiding the establishment under which Turks were united. The in-groups are created through the use of the inclusive 'we' and the out-group is the 'contemporary civilisations'.

The third topos that appears in Excerpt 2 is the topos of comparison, which is established through explicit and implicit references through the passage *After this glorious victory, on 29 October 1923, we established the Republic of Turkey on the principle of "sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation"* because this statement highlights a foundational principle of the newly established Republic of Turkey. Since the establishment of the Republic is a new foundation of the country, the passage emphasises that the foundational principle is national sovereignty, and it is in the hands of the nation. This comparison is implicit because it contrasts with previous systems of governance that may have limited or denied such sovereignty. However, as the passage continues, there is also an explicit comparison where the aim is to rise *above the level of contemporary civilisation*. In the previous part of Excerpt 2, there is both positive and negative comparison included, because it states that in 1923, the Turkish nation was below the contemporary level of civilisation and thus it needed to be raised. The topos of comparison is expressed through the intention of reaching a certain level, which is 'above'.

### Excerpt 3

*"We consider **our Republic** as an achievement of our **2200-year old state tradition and one-thousand-years of Seljuq and Ottoman heritage**, attained under the **difficult** conditions of those days."*

The topos of history in Excerpt 3 is expressed through references to the previous historic era and governing bodies, namely the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire. The reference to the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire is controversial because according to Excerpt 3 the Republic of Turkey is heir to the previously mentioned empires. Thus, the Republic is the direct result of the empires. However, during the Turkish War of Independence, Turks were trying to break away from the Ottoman Empire as well as from the Great Powers (Ahmad 2014). The aim is to unify people not only through the shared 'victory' of the Republic of Turkey but through the common previous ancestors, the Seljuqs and the Ottomans.

The topos of definition indicates that the Republic of Turkey is a continuation of the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire. The expressions *2200-year old* and *thousand-year* indicate the importance of the length of the previously mentioned empires. If the Republic is a continuation of the Seljuq and

Ottoman Empire, then it should carry their qualities and attributes. The speaker intends to explain the current governing system with reference to previous ones.

However, the topos of comparison is also invoked and seems to be contradictory at the same time because the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire are referred to as *difficult conditions of those days*. However, since the Republic is heir to those hardships, both periods carry positive qualities as well. The comparison of the Republic of Turkey to this extensive state tradition, suggests a sense of historical significance. In addition, the passage *one-thousand-years of Seljuq and Ottoman heritage* highlights the specific contributions and legacies of the Seljuqs and Ottomans. This comparison seeks to emphasise the significance and historical roots of the Republic of Turkey.

#### Excerpt 4

*"I believe that, **wherever they are in the world, all our citizens and friends are proud of the epic which was written on 15 July by our nation.**"*

Excerpt 4 includes the topos of history through reference to the coup attempt of 2016 with the expression *15 July*. The other type of pride that the speaker intends to create is through the lexical item and attribution of *epic*, which creates the historical importance of the coup attempt of 2016. The topos of favourable time is also expressed in Excerpt 4 through reference to the positive effects of the coup attempt of 2016, because the passage *all our citizens and friends are proud of the epic which was written in 15 July* conveys a sense of positive sentiment and pride. The expression *wherever they are in the world* emphasises the inclusivity of the sentiment of Turks belonging to this favourable time regardless of geographical location. The use of the word *epic* adds a sense of grandeur and significance to the event of the coup attempt. Moreover, it can also denote the literary genre through which the speaker aims to indicate the story of favourable time, which was written on 15 July, when the Turkish nation was unified. According to Excerpt 4, the coup attempt of 2016 holds a special place in the hearts of the nation's citizens and friends, evoking a sense of pride and celebration.

#### Excerpt 5

*"We have reached the **93rd anniversary** of our **Republic** after having overcome **such a crisis** which was not only a **coup attempt and terrorist attack** but also an **invasion attempt.**"*

In 5, the topos of favourable time is employed for highlighting the positive outcome and progress achieved despite significant challenges. The 93<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Turkish Republic is a huge success after the crisis event of the coup attempt of 2016, it is a highly important milestone of celebrating the 93<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Republic. It implies the continuity and resilience of the nation. The part *Not only a coup attempt and terrorist attack but also an invasion attempt* establishes the topic of favourable time by referring to an unfavourable one.

#### Excerpt 6

*"The **Republic of Turkey** has progressed by **overcoming all the difficulties** it has faced during these **93 years and**, thanks to recent **breakthroughs** in particular, it has **now** accomplished to **stand among the rising powers of the world.**"*

In Excerpt 6, the topos of definition is indicated through the temporal reference of *93 years*, where the number of years serves to emphasise the long period of hardships that was and still encountered by the Turks. The *recent breakthroughs* emphasise the positive qualities after the long-lasting times of difficulty. The *now* underlines the continuity of achievement. The results and effects of these 93 years and recent breakthroughs indicate continuity because the Republic of Turkey stands *among the rising powers of the world*. Thus, Excerpt 6 creates a relationship between the past, the

present and the future. The present accomplishments are the direct results of the overcoming of the difficulties of the past. The reason why the topos of definition is used is to sequence events logically and indicate the temporal relationships between events. In the provided passage of Excerpt 6, the topos of comparison is used for the emphasis of the progress and achievements of the Republic of Turkey through the reference to its current state and the difficulties it has overcome. Thus, contrasting the past with the present. The indication of the period of time *93 years* and the *recent breakthroughs* point to the fact that the present is better than the past situation and highlights the challenges and obstacles that the Republic of Turkey has encountered in the past. Furthermore, the passage *Thanks to recent breakthroughs in particular* suggests that there have been recent significant advancements or accomplishments that have contributed to the progress of the Republic of Turkey. The topos of comparison is invoked in the passage *It has now accomplished to stand among the rising powers of the world*, which positions the Republic of Turkey among the emerging or ascending global powers. Through this comparison, it is emphasised that Turkey's progress and achievements have elevated its status on the international stage and placed it alongside other influential nations.

#### Excerpt 7

*"Turkey, with its **growing economy, strong democracy, its commitment to fundamental human values and principled and visionary foreign policy, continues to be an inspiration to its region and to the World also today.**"*

Whereas Excerpt 7 lists the positive qualities of the Republic of Turkey and indicates its continuity, with the inclusion of 'also', it is pointed out that the Republic of Turkey was/is and will continue to remain an inspiration. Thus, the topos of definition is also applied for the spreading of positive national sentiment regarding the Republic of Turkey. In Excerpt 7, the topos of comparison is applied to highlight Turkey's positive attributes and its influence through the reference as an *inspiration to its region and to the world*. The positive attribute in *growing economy* emphasises Turkey's economic growth and power. Since Turkey is an *inspiration* to the world, its economy, governmental system and commitments are compared to other countries and Turkey is above them. The *strong government* implies that Turkey's democracy is not only functional but also robust compared to other nations in its region or beyond. The reference of commitment to *human values* highlights Turkey's dedication to upholding fundamental human values and these values position Turkey as a champion of principles of equality, dignity, and fundamental human rights. The outstanding qualities and uniqueness of Turkey is further supported by the part *Principled and visionary foreign policy*, where the Turkey's foreign policy is guided by principles and vision, implying that it stands out from other countries in terms of its approach to international relations. This comparison highlights Turkey's diplomatic efforts and strategic thinking.

#### Excerpt 8

*"The tenacity of the Turkish people, who **defended** fiercely its **freedom, democracy, government** and state, using **their body** as a shield **against** the arms of **FETO member traitors** are our greatest assurances on the path to achieving **our 2023 vision** for the **100th anniversary** of the Republic of Turkey."*

The topos of definition in Excerpt 8 is used for the defining periods, which are the past, present and future. The temporal references serve to define the Republic of Turkey as a victorious outcome following the glorious victory of the Turkish War of Liberation. Furthermore, by associating the Republic with the qualities and attributes of these the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire, cultural legacy is established. The notion of continuous achievement is also deepened through the victorious depiction of the time of the Republic of Turkey. The temporal references in these excerpts create a logical sequence of events. The temporal reference to the 2023 vision for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic of Turkey demonstrates a forward-looking perspective.

Excerpt 8 also includes the topos of threat to praise Turkish people for defending their freedom, democracy, government, and state against perceived threats. The part *using their body as a shield against the arms of FETO member traitors* portrays the Turkish people's determination to put themselves in harm's way in order to protect their nation. The topos of threat is evoked through the reference *FETO member traitors*, which directly creates the out-group and points out the gravity of the threat faced by the nation. The threat was not only made against Turkey but against the 2023 vision of the government. By employing the topos of threat, Excerpt 8 aims to express the determination and sacrifices of the Turkish people in the face of perceived threats from FETO member traitors. The passage of Excerpt 8 emphasises the nation's strength, resilience, and commitment to protecting its core values and achieving long-term goals.

#### Excerpt 9

*"The **recent events** that took place on the night of **July 15, 2016** reaffirmed beyond any doubt how the **Turkish nation is unified with its state.**"*

In the passage of Excerpt 9, the topos of threat is employed to remind the Turkish nation of its unity with its governing body against the external threat, which is the coup attempt of 2016. The event of 2016 suggests a threat that was posed against the nation. The *unified with its state* highlights the strong bond and solidarity between the Turkish nation and its state. In Excerpt 9, the topos of favourable time is also applied for pointing out that thanks to the crisis of the coup attempt of 2016, the Turkish society is even more unified than ever before. The crisis is seen as a success. Even if people tried to overthrow Erdoğan's government, he emphasises the positive rather than the negative effects of it. Despite the crisis or challenge faced, the nation demonstrated unity and resilience, which can be viewed as a favourable outcome.

#### Excerpt 10

*"**That night**, our nation demonstrated to the **whole world** that it would **fight against the new invasion attempts** as resolutely as in **the War of Liberation.**"*

In Excerpt 10, the topos of threat is further applied through the *fight against the new invasion attempts*, which elaborates on the nation's new challenges, indicating a threat to its territorial integrity or independence. The lexical item and reference of the term *invasion* further deepens the sense of threat and emphasises the seriousness of the situation. Not only new challenges (the coup attempt of 2016), but old challenges (the War of Liberation) and threats appear in Excerpt 10. The reference to the threats of the past and the present suggests that the nation's response to the new invasion attempts mirrors the resolute attitude displayed during the war, which further highlights the nation's readiness to defend itself.

The night of the coup attempt of 2016 resulted in favourable time, the positive outcome of a crisis event because it accomplished the unification of Turks in the fighting against the common enemy just as in the War of Liberation. Thus, the favourable time is when Turks unite for the common goal. Both the coup attempt of 2016 and the War of Liberation were more favourable times because in both it was proved to the world how unified the Turkish people are.

#### Excerpt 11

*"My fellow citizens and friends, be assured that **Turkey** is a **stronger, more astute** and more resolute country **today than the morning of 15 July.**"*

Excerpt 11 uses the topos of threat to convey a sense of reassurance and confidence in Turkey's strength and resilience through the reference to the defeat of the external threat, the coup attempt of 15 July 2016. Although concerns and doubts may bother Turkish people not only about the past

and present and possible future threats, the speaker reassures the addressees through *be assured* that even if there had been events or situations of difficulties Turkey embodies security and confidence. The part *stronger, more astute and more resolute* depicts the positive transformation and progress of Turkey which is better equipped to face threats or challenges. The part *than the morning of 15 July* is a specific reference to the day of the coup attempt, which implies that there was a critical turning point or challenge.

The topos of favorable time is used through the emphasis on the positive progress and development of Turkey in Excerpt 11. The part *Turkey is a stronger, more astute and more resolute country today* indicates the positive transformation and growth of Turkey over time, which has been accomplished until the day of the Republic Day speech. The inclusion of comparative language (*stronger, more astute, and more resolute*) suggests an improvement or advancement compared to a previous point in time. With the explicit reference to the coup attempt of 2016 through *than the morning of 15 July*, the statement establishes the point of comparison, which is the time after the coup attempt of 2016, where crisis creates opportunities. Thus, positive effects follow the crisis. The topos of favourable time is evident in Excerpt 11, as it presents a positive image of Turkey's current state compared to a specific past moment. By emphasising the country's growth and improvement, it contributes to the construction of national identity and a sense of confidence among the Turkish citizens.

In general, the references (Excerpt 1-4) through the topos of history indicate that Turks should be proud of their history. Through the inclusion of historical events such as the Turkish War of Independence and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, accomplishment, pride and positive feelings are projected towards Turkish people. The lexical items and references of heroism, victory, and glory applied in these passages are meant to emphasise the exceptional nature of the referred historical moments. Besides, references to the Seljuq and Ottoman Empires in Excerpt 3 establish a historical continuity. The inclusion of historical allusions fosters a collective memory (van Dijk 2006). Through the topos of history, Excerpt 1–4 contribute to the construction of a strong national identity by drawing upon past events and heritage.

The use of the topos of comparison in the provided excerpts (Excerpts 1–2, 3, 6–7) effectively contribute to the construction of a positive and elevated image of Turkey. Through the comparisons, Turkey is portrayed as a nation with unique qualities. The comparisons highlight Turkey's protective nature and victorious struggle for liberation. Turkey is positioned as a nation that stands above others. The depiction of Turkey's progress and accomplishments in overcoming difficulties and standing among the rising powers of the world shows its growth and development. The use of comparison effectively contributes to the narrative of Turkey's exceptionalism, historical significance, and current achievements, shaping a positive national identity.

By employing the topos of threat in Excerpts 1, 8–11, the speaker seeks to reassure the audience about Turkey's current state and progress. It is suggested that the nation has effectively dealt with past threats or challenges and has become stronger. The topos of threat is used as a means to construct the national identity of the narrative of Turkey's resilience. It further contributes to the construction of a national identity centred around strength, resilience, and the confidence to confront future challenges.

Through the analysis of Excerpts 4-5, 11, it is revealed that the construction of national identity through the topos of favourable time is of importance for politicians as they highlight the positive values and attributes of a particular period over another. In Erdoğan's case, he indicated that the period of the coup, even if it was aimed against his government, made Turkey a better place for Turks. The present situation of Turkey is favoured over its past. Turkey is stronger and more resilient than it has ever been. By employing the topos of favourable time, politicians foster a sense of confidence and pride during their time in power and their political system that boost the productivity and unity of the nation.

## 6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the construction of narrative identity through the translated English version of the 2016 Republic Day speech of the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to highlight the significance and effectiveness of topoi in the construction and shaping of national identity. The study analysed the translated English version of the 2016 Republic Day speech of Erdoğan through Wodak's analytical framework known as the Discourse-Historical Approach. Through the help of DHA, excerpts were used from the corpus and the topoi of history, definition, comparison threat and favourable time were identified in the highest proportion.

By the further examination of the topos of comparison, history, definition, threat, and favourable time, we have gained insights into their functions and impact on the argumentative construction of national identity. The topos of history (references to the War of Liberation, Republic of Turkey and to the Seljuq and Ottoman Empire) was used for the creation of national mythologies and narratives, which is aimed to legitimise and reproduce national cultures and identities (Forchtner 2014; Wodak 2015a). Turks belong to a stable and unchanging collective unit because of a specific history (Wodak et al. 2009). The topos of definition has been revealed through a specific conceptualization of time (Schwarze 2007), where Erdoğan aimed to establish the consequential relationship between the time of the historical events through the temporal references to the sequence of the Seljuq, Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey and the coup attempt of 2016. The references denote a principle of temporal constancy that reflects similarity as well as uninterrupted continuity of transformation (Wodak et al. 2009).

The topos of comparison has been identified through the comparison of in-groups and out-groups (Turks) and outgroups (FETO member traitors), where the out-groups were compared negatively, and in-groups positively (van Dijk 2006). The topos of threat has been highlighted as a means of warning against the past and present enemies of Turkey, the invaders of the War of Liberation, FETO members, the participants of the coup attempt of 2016 because the threat of outside forces motivates people to develop more unity against the potential threat of national identity (Wodak et al. 2009). Finally, the topos of favourable time has been revealed through the underlining of the growth and positive transformations of the Turkish nation. Through the topos of favourable time people can view time as divergence, or difference in a positive manner (Ricoeur 1992).

The interplay between these topoi enables Turks to develop a deep sense of connection and pride towards their nation. The topoi structures allow them to reflect understand the distinctiveness of their national identity, its historical context and favourable time. The aforementioned topoi are highly influential in shaping and reinforcing national identity. The functions of these topoi contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex processes involved in the construction of national identities.

However, it is important to mention that there are some limitations regarding the study, such as the lack of consensus regarding the methodology of the analytical tool of DHA. Different or more speeches could have been chosen for a more thorough analysis. The original speeches in their original Turkish versions could have been selected and analysed. The range of analytical tools could be enhanced. Even though the study's goal is to achieve the utmost transferability of results, the interpretations are still qualitative in nature, excluding generalisability. Further research in this area is encouraged in order to shed more light on the intricate relationship between topoi and national identity. The study does not purport to make any political claims; the analysis is solely based on available linguistic data. The linguistic claims pertain solely to the translated English version of Erdoğan's 2016 Republic Day speech. The aim was to make unbiased statements/claims and be sensitive about the context, culture, and audience of the target, namely Turkish society. The analyst of this study is not a member of any political party, and there is no political motivation behind the study.



### Acknowledgments

I am grateful to all those who have helped me put together these ideas together as well as given effort and time to this paper. I would also like to thank the reviewer(s) for their advice and suggestions. Their valuable guidance and feedback have proved to be essential in enhancing the quality of this article. Without their support, this study could not have been completed.

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## Appendix

**Table A.** The 2016 Translated English Republic Day Speech of Erdoğan and the identified topoi

The 2016 Translated English Republic Day Speech of Erdoğan divided	Topoi
1. Today, October 29, marks the 93rd anniversary of the foundation of our latest state, the Republic of Turkey proclaimed under the leadership of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.	Topos of history
2. The Turkish nation, which has never given in to bondages and dictations, crowned the war of liberation that it launched against the invaders targeting its liberation and future with a heroic victory unprecedented in history.	Topos of History Topos of threat Topos of comparison
3. After this glorious victory, on 29 October 1923, we established the Republic of Turkey on the principle of "sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation" and with the aim of raising our nation above the level of contemporary civilizations.	Topos of History Topos of definition Topos of comparison: levelling, creating difference Topos of Superordinate aim Topos of authority
4. We consider our Republic as an achievement of our 2200-year old state tradition and one-thousand-years of Seljuq and Ottoman heritage, attained under the difficult conditions of those days.	Topos of History topos of definition: adverbs of time and adverbial constructions Topos of comparison: levelling, creating difference Topos of consequence
5. The Republic of Turkey has progressed by overcoming all the difficulties it has faced during these 93 years and, thanks to recent breakthroughs in particular, it has now accomplished to stand among the rising powers of the world.	Topos of History topos of definition: adverbs of time and adverbial constructions Topos of comparison: levelling, creating difference Topos of favourable time Topos of changed circumstances
6. Turkey, with its growing economy, strong democracy, its commitment to fundamental human values and principled and visionary foreign policy, continues to be an inspiration to its region and to the World also today.	Topos of lovely idyllic place Topos of favourable time Topos of comparison Topos of definition Topos of changed circumstances
7. The recent events that took place on the night of July 15, 2016 reaffirmed beyond any doubt how the Turkish nation is unified with its state.	Topos of threat Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance) Topos of consequence Topos of history
8. That night, our nation demonstrated to the whole world that it would fight against the new invasion attempts as resolutely as in the War of Liberation.	Topos of terrible place Topos of consequence Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance) Topos of threat
9. The tenacity of the Turkish people, who defended fiercely its freedom, democracy, government and state, using their body as a shield against the arms of FETO member traitors are our greatest assurances on the path to achieving our 2023 vision for the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey.	Topos of threat Topos of superordinate aim Topos of comparison Topos of definition

10. I am honoured to be the President of this great State and heroic nation.	Topos of lovely idyllic pace.
11. I believe that, wherever they are in the world, all our citizens and friends are proud of the epic which was written on 15 July by our nation.	Topos of history Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance)
12. We have reached the 93rd anniversary of our Republic after having overcome such a crisis which was not only a coup attempt and terrorist attack but also an invasion attempt.	Topos of history Topos of terrible place Topos of consequence Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance)
13. My fellow citizens and friends, be assured that Turkey is a stronger, more astute and more resolute country today than the morning of 15 July.	Topos of threat Topos of comparison Topos of lovely idyllic pace. Topos of favorable time (crisis is also a chance) Topos of consequence Topos of changed circumstances
14. No attack against our unity, solidarity, brotherhood, homeland, liberation and future will ever be successful.	Topos of threat Topos of definition Topos of lovely idyllic place
15. Neither terrorist organizations nor the ones exploiting them will be able to prevent us from achieving our goals.	Topos of threat Topos of superordinate aim Topos of comparison
16. With these feelings and thoughts, I cordially congratulate all our citizens living in Turkey and abroad on the Republic Day.	Topos of definition Topos of lovely idyllic place Topos of gratitude
17. Happy 29 October Republic Day!	Topos of history

**Source:** <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/speeches-statements/558/55815/message-of-president-erdogan-on-the-republic-day>